

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 133567
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /013 R

66011

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS

APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS

-----117817 260513Z /20

R 251943Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUFHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 0000

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T STATE 133567

FOL RPT USNATO 05292 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
24 MAY 78 QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 05292

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PORG

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY: PUBLIC STATEMENT

-

REFS: (A) USNATO 5214, (B) STATE 130353

-

1. AFTER LOBBYING ON OUR PART WITH JUNG OF INTERNATIONAL STAFF (AS WELL AS GERMAN DCM AND DUTCH AND UK PERMREPS), IS UNEXPECTEDLY CIRCULATED TWO PROPOSED VERSIONS OF EAST-WEST STUDY PUBLIC STATEMENT. ONE IS BASED ON ORIGINAL SHORT IS DRAFT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMMENTS MADE AT MAY 23 SPC MEETING. THE OTHER IS BASED ON US DRAFT.

2. WHILE LATTER TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SUGGESTIONS MADE BY CANADIANS AND OTHERS FOR POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN US DRAFT, IT ALSO REFLECTS IS EFFORT TO MEET CONCERNS EX-
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 133567

PRESSED DURING PREVIOUS SPC DISCUSSIONS THAT SPECIFIC AREAS OF EAST-WEST STUDY WERE ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE.

3. IS HAS ADOPTED LARGE CHUNKS OF US PROPOSED PUBLIC STATEMENT, ALTHOUGH REORDERING SEVERAL POINTS AND ADDING SOME ADDITIONAL MATERIAL:

IS HAS DROPPED PARA 1 (INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE), PARA 6 (ANALYSIS OF SOVIET GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS WHICH CANADIANS FELT WOULD INFRINGE ON "CONFIDENTIALITY" OF STUDY), PARA 11 (IDEOLOGY), AND PARA 13 (REFERENCE TO ALLIED CONSULTATIONS).

FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 7 RE MAINTENANCE OF BALANCE BETWEEN ARMS CONTROL, DISARMAMENT AND DEFENSE/DETERRENCE CONTINUUM, FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF PARA 10 (WHICH CANADIANS NOTED WERE NEGATIVE AND SEEMED TO SIGNAL SOVIETS WE DID NOT EXPECT MORE OF THEM), AND PART OF FOURTH SENTENCE OF PARA 12 HAVE ALSO BEEN DROPPED.

4. OUR INITIAL REPEAT INITIAL REACTION TO IS VERSION IS THAT IT IS INFERIOR TO US PRODUCT BUT THAT GIVEN TACTICAL SITUATION WE SHOULD SEEK FIRST TO MAKE IT RATHER THAN SHORT DRAFT THE BASIS OF DISCUSSION AND THEN WORK TO REINTRODUCE KEY PORTIONS OF OUR VERSION.

5. IN KEY CATEGORY, WE WOULD CITE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 7, PARA 11 ON IDEOLOGY, MIDDLE PORTIONS OF PARA 12 ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND PARA 13 ON CONSULTATIONS.

6. ACTION: DRAFT WILL BE DISCUSSED MAY 25. REQUEST GUIDANCE.

7. BEGIN TEXT OF TWO VERSIONS OF EAST-WEST STUDY PUBLIC STATEMENT:

-

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 133567

ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

-

SECRETARIAT DRAFT PAPER FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (LONG VERSION) AT THE MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN LONDON IN MAY LAST YEAR "ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE". ALL THE ALLIES HAVE ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STUDY, THROUGH PAPERS PREPARED IN CAPITALS, INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS AND INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS IN THE COUNCIL AND SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALLIANCE. THE STUDY WAS DISCUSSED AND APPROVED AT THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON ON 31ST MAY, 1978. THE STUDY IS INTENDED FOR INTERNAL USE BY ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

-

2. THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY TAKES AS ITS TIMEFRAME THE PERIOD THROUGH THE LATE NINETEEN EIGHTIES. THE ALLIES ANALYZE THE TRENDS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, AND ASSESS THE POSSIBLE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS FLOWING FROM THESE TRENDS. THE ALLIES CONCLUDE THE STUDY BY CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THESE TRENDS AND POSSIBLE ATTITUDES. THE KEY ROLE WHICH BERLIN AND THE SPECIAL SITUATION IN GERMANY PLAY FOR DETENTE IN EUROPE IS COVERED BY THE STUDY.

-
3. THE STUDY RECOGNIZES THAT UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMING YEARS MAKE FIRM PREDICTIONS BOTH DIFFICULT AND UNWISE. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO THE STEADY ENHANCEMENT OF ITS MILITARY STRENGTH ACROSS THE ENTIRE RANGE OF CAPABILITIES, AND BE READY TO DEVOTE TO IT WHATEVER RESOURCES THEY CONSIDER THEIR OVERALL POLICIES REQUIRE. AT THE SAME TIME THE INTENSIFICATION OF POLITICAL AND
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 133567

ECONOMIC INTERACTION BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH HAS BEEN EVIDENT OVER THE PAST DECADE, IS LIKELY TO

BE MAINTAINED.

-
4. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY FUNCTIONS OF THE ALLIANCE: MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

-
5. IN THE FACE OF THE STEADY MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE SOVIET UNION, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF A SATISFACTORY MILITARY BALANCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IT RECOGNISES THAT THE ALLIANCE MUST CONTINUE TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE, IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO TRANSLATE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH INTO THE EXPANSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE. THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO CONVINCE THE SOVIET UNION THAT ANY SENSE OF INSECURITY ON ITS PART IS EXAGGERATED AND THAT VAST RESOURCES, BOTH MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL, COULD SAFELY BE CHANNELLED INTO NON-MILITARY PRODUCTION. MEANWHILE, IN THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, A BALANCE SATISFACTORY TO THE ALLIES IN STRATEGIC, THEATRE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL TERMS, LINKED TOGETHER IN ONE CONTINUUM OF DEFENCE AND DETERRENCE, COULD ONLY BE ASSURED BY MEASURES TO MODERNISE AND STRENGTHEN THE MILITARY CAPACITY OF THE ALLIES.

-
6. AT THE SAME TIME, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THAT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 133567

RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST. THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN ALL RELEVANT FACTORS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS WILL NEED TO BE KEPT CAREFULLY IN MIND. THE STUDY CALLS TO ALLIED ATTENTION THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE APPLIED SELECTIVELY AND THAT ATTEMPTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES,

PARTICULARLY BY ARMED EXTERNAL INTERVENTION, COULD ENDANGER IT.

-

7. PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT IS CONSIDERED INDISPENSABLE FOR A DURABLE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE MAINTENANCE OF UNDIMINISHED AND IF POSSIBLE IMPROVED SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES MUST BE A CONSTANT AIM. THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO WORK FOR PROGRESS IN FORA SUCH AS SALT, MBFR AND THE UN SSOD. POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE US/SOVIET STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, IN A MANNER COMPATIBLE WITH THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, WERE SEEN AS A MAJOR OBJECTIVE. THE STUDY ALSO EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO TACKLE THE REAL CAUSES OF DANGER, NOT LEAST THE IMBALANCE IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD.

-

8. THE STUDY RECOMMENDS THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE THE EXPANSION OF CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN ALL FIELDS. THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND OF ECONOMIC LINKS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN, WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITATIONS, LEAD THE SOVIET UNION TO FEEL MORE CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH THE LATTER, THEREBY REINFORCING DETENTE. THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A VALUABLE MEANS OF MONITORING AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN DETENTE.

-

9. ALLIED COUNTRIES SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE USSR AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO PLAY A MORE FORTHCOMING ROLE IN HELPING TO MEET THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AND TO ADOPT A MORE POSITIVE APPROACH IN INTERNATIONAL
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 133567

DISCUSSIONS ON TRADE AND AID ISSUES. THE STUDY ALSO CALLS ATTENTION TO THE MANY ASSETS WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE FOR ADDRESSING THIRD WORLD ASPIRATIONS.

-

10. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THAT, AS STATED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION. GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND EASTERN COUNTRIES.

-

11. THE STUDY CONFIRMS THE NEED FOR THE ALLIES TO MAINTAIN AND REINFORCE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND COHESION. IT HAS REAFFIRMED THE CONVICTION OF THE ALLIES THAT THEIR ALLIANCE CONSTITUTES A FIRM GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AND OF PEACE.

-

-

ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

-

SECRETARIAT DRAFT PAPER FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHORT VERSION)

AT THE MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WITH THE PAR-

TICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN LONDON IN MAY LAST YEAR "ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE". ALL THE ALLIES HAVE ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STUDY, THROUGH PAPERS PREPARED IN CAPITALS, INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS
SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 133567

AND INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS IN THE COUNCIL AND SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALLIANCE. THE STUDY WAS DISCUSSED AND APPROVED AT THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON ON 31ST MAY, 1978. THE STUDY IS INTENDED FOR INTERNAL USE BY ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

-

2. THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY TAKES AS ITS TIMEFRAME THE PERIOD THROUGH THE LATE NINETEEN EIGHTIES. THE ALLIES ANALYZE THE TRENDS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, AND ASSESS THE POSSIBLE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS FLOWING FROM THESE TRENDS. THE ALLIES CONCLUDE THE STUDY BY CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THESE TRENDS AND POSSIBLE ATTITUDES. THE KEY ROLE WHICH BERLIN AND THE SPECIAL SITUATION IN GERMANY PLAY FOR DETENTE IN EUROPE IS COVERED BY THE STUDY.

-

3. THE STUDY RECOGNIZES THAT UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMING YEARS MAKE FIRM PREDICTIONS BOTH DIFFICULT AND UNWISE. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND BE READY TO DEVOTE TO IT WHATEVER RESOURCES THEY CONSIDER THEIR OVERALL POLICIES TO REQUIRE. AT THE SAME TIME THE INTENSIFICATION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTION BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH HAS BEEN EVIDENT OVER THE PAST DECADE, IS LIKELY TO BE MAINTAINED.

-

4. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY FUNCTIONS OF THE ALLIANCE: MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IN THE FACE OF THE STEADY MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE SOVIET UNION, THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER
SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 133567

TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO TRANSLATE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH INTO EXPANSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE. THE MAINTENANCE OF A SATISFACTORY MILITARY BALANCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE. THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE A MAJOR AND CONTINUOUS EFFORT TO CONVINCE THE SOVIET UNION THAT ANY SENSE OF INSECURITY ON ITS PART IS EXAGGERATED AND THAT VAST RESOURCES, BOTH MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL, COULD SAFELY BE CHANNELLED INTO NON-MILITARY PRODUCTION.

-

5. AT THE SAME TIME THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST. IN PARTICULAR THEY SHOULD PURSUE THEIR WORK FOR PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES. THEY SHOULD ALSO SEEK TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN ALL FIELDS, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A VALUABLE MEANS OF MONITORING AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN DETENTE. THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN ALL RELEVANT FACTORS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS WILL NEED TO BE KEPT CAREFULLY IN MIND.

-

6. THE STUDY CONFIRMED THE NEED FOR THE ALLIES TO MAINTAIN AND REINFORCE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND COHESION. IT HAS REAFFIRMED THE CONVICTION OF THE ALLIES THAT THEIR ALLIANCE CONSTITUTES A FIRM GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AND OF PEACE. END TEXT.
GLITMAN

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014